1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



ledged in Tibetan Buddhism. All these are celestial beings, the spontaneous emanations from the Divinity, who have never been subject to the pains of transmigration. Inferior to them are the created or mortal beings, who are divided into six classes, named *Droba-Rikdruk*, the "six advancers or progressors," because their souls progress by transmigration from one state to a better state, until they finally attain absorption into the divine essence; after which they are no longer subject to transmigration. These six classes are—

1. *Lhá*, "Gods," equivalent to the Hindu *Sura* and *Deva*.
2. *Lhá-ma-yin*, or *Lhá-min*, "Demi-gods or Titans," equivalent to the Hindu *Asura* and *Daitya*.
3. *Mi*, "Man;" the Sanskrit *Manushya*.
4. *Dudro*, "Brutes;" in Sanscrit *Tiryyaka*, "crookedly," because they walk a little out of the right path.
5. *Yidok*, "Goblins;" in Sanscrit *preta*.
6. *Myalba*, "the damned;" in Sanscrit *Náraka*.*

It is one of the most essential dogmas of the doctrine of transmigration that the disembodied soul is incapable of receiving either reward or punishment. Hence the belief in other grades of mortal beings, both superior and inferior to man. The good man, after death, is supposed to be raised to the dignity of a *Lhamayin*, or demi-god, while the bad man is degraded to the state of a *Dudro*, or brute. These different orders of beings were not the invention of the Buddhists, for they existed long before the rise of Buddhism, and were the offspring of man's yearning for a future and better state. Like as in India, where the Brahmans have declared all the ancient

* The hells are divided into eight cold and sixteen hot hells, which are favourite subjects of representation with the Chinese and Tibetan painters. The punishments are *not everlasting*; finite sin is expiated by finite punishment; and when the expiation is completed, the person is born again. See also Fra Orazio, Nouv. Jour. As. tom. XIV. p. 410.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



## III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rinpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

792 All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Getshul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

* See Plate XXIV. † *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

764 [49]FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered better that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the
793 764 time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

●[775] If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 614 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

[1] [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] [2] [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

779 person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all
798 persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from
[799] religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells,
772 such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties
[181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

Tibet AJ1

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 554 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

[68]

• 776 792 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively. There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

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An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

715 792 787 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one for which they are looking. Having found their child, they leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying wheel (mâni chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more correctly dreelboo) rosary (thânga or thrânga) and other property of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out which of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a "skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery (gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit. 775 792 787

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation, it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen years, he is sent off to Lhâsa, the Rome of Buddhism, to complete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight years, his education is complete and he returns to his own monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation. 792 874

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house (called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them. It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the consequences thereof are philosophically accepted. 792 775

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Eeshes Stanbey Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha flag of victory) the present avatar of the Speetuk monastery,

●775 79v a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhása where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he [576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[771] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of 648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

251 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "thang," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "thang" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángthang not in Ladak; they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

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a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

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[135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

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REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue obtained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about ~~R~~69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about ~~R~~45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about ~~R~~11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about ~~R~~8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngleymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of land to be 176, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials 1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively. 657 652 651 423 565

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108 "thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113, these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told." 788

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng-bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following fanciful explanation is given:-- 779 775

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khoráoo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

779 so wander about for an indefinite period, and will not be admitted to paradise, merely because it cannot gain admission to any of the spheres for taking re-embodiment. But to return to the "kábum." The pious are informed that, with a pure heart and humble voice, they should repeat the six mystic syllables as often as possible, for that by so doing they close the doors of the six spheres into which it would otherwise be possible for their souls to take re-birth.

Óm--repeated often enough closes the door of "hla-i-hnas" (fairy place).

Ma--repeated often enough closes the door of "hlámáeen-i-hnas" (demi-god place).

Nee--repeated often enough closes the door of "mee-i-hnas" (man place). [139]

Pat--repeated often enough closes the door of "tutro-i-hnas" (beast place).

Mey--repeated often enough closes the door of "eedak-i-hnas" (fore hell).

Hung--repeated often enough closes the door of "ngiálwa-i-hnas" (hell).

And it is added that if they are assiduous enough in this prayer, the result will be that they will escape the curse of re-birth, and will, when next they die, attain nirvána. The Incarnation of the Speetuk monastery gave me a slightly different version. He said, a body cannot be born unless good seed is sown; if a body is not born, a soul cannot be re-embodied. The result of repeating the six mystic syllables is, he said, to cause the "seed" of the gods, demi-gods, men, etc., not to germinate so far as concerns the soul of the person who has been diligent enough in repeating the mystic syllables.

I don't think any one in Ladák knows what the words or syllables really mean; the majority of the people don't even pretend to know.

795 796 [140]SABBATH--za-ngeema (Sunday). Ladákis do not keep one day in seven as a day of rest and prayer, but the tenth day of every month, which is called tshesschoo (meaning "date ten"), is, or should be, observed as a day of praying and feasting.

788 SACRAMENT--Missionaries use the word "tamja" (meaning a "binding" or "making fast"). Tibetans have nothing quite like the Christian sacrament, but at the time of making a vow, they

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhá'thum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

1 ĉu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 805 177

1 dbugs has 60 ĉa-śags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-śar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas bya = sundown--bird,
20--22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn 787

7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions 775

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unlea[illegible] and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Whenever a snow leopard committed its outrages in a region, 136
as often happened in winter, it became advisable to avoid this region altogether for a while and rather to look for a new pasturing area. Bears and leopards, which did not inhabit his homeland, Namgyal did not become acquainted with until later during his travels to Kashmir and Lahul, where he had ample experience with them. He had a sharp eye for the doings of all animals and he observed them closely. More than once wild sheep had approached his goats and sheep while pasturing at the mountain without particularly taking notice of him. These wild sheep were fine animals almost the size of stags, of the brown color of deer, the old rams had horns which in their winding measured about 70 centimeters. Ibexes also approached sometimes with greater caution. Numerous flocks of rock-partridges enlivened the otherwise so barren mountain slopes, especially in the vicinity of the cultivated village oases; and from the cliffs up there near the snow field there frequently resounded the long drawn-out whistle of the snow pheasant (slope hen /rock-partridge?/). Great swarms of blue mountain doves nested in the precipitous walls, with their many caves, over there beyond the Indus, and in the /38/ air the mighty imperial eagles and the lammergeiers circled around. There was a colorful variety of small feathered inhabitants of these heights, from the wall-creeper, which climbs along rock faces like a woodpecker on a tree, and the wheat ear, which hops along between the boulders of the slope amid continual bobbing and gay twittering, to the many-colored, white-capped redstarts in the bottom of the valley and the sand martin in its simple blackish dress which dives after larvae down at the roaring brook. All these animals, and many more which inhabit the waste 775 ●
heights and highland plateaus attracted Namgyal's attention with their activities, aroused his thirst for knowledge, and stimulated his imagination; all the more so since a lama had recently taught him that all forms of life, even the lowest, are beings that are in the cycle of the transmigration of souls and are striving for their final release but must always be embodied again in many different forms as a punishment for their sins. Since then Namgyal observed attentively the herd animals of the village and frequently asked himself which of the animals might lodge the souls of his grandfather and of his deceased aunt; but he did not dare ask anyone about it. The lama had made indications to that effect.

Did Namgyal also have an eye for the wonderful sublimity of ooo
the mountain scenery of his homeland? A Tibetan hardly ever expresses

yourself have been blessed by them! -- -- --"

"Cause us, all us animated creatures, to be freed from pleasure, from wrath, and from liking for worldly things, and teach us to recognize fully the true nature of religion! -- -- -- And now, Oh you Buddhas, demons, male as well as female, father, mother! Thou Samantabhadra (original Buddha), thou Supremely Gracious One in the 'Body of the Law,' and you Buddhas in the 'Body of Blessedness,' all you Gracious Ones and all you Wrathful Ones! Also thou, Oh great Lama Magician! All of you whom I have called upon! I now entreat you that you may remove youselves!"

"You spirits of the departed heroes! You witches, you demons, you defenders of the Doctrine! You sacred guardians of the Law! /166/ All you to whom I have here prayed! I entreat you that you may all go away now!"

"Thou mighties king of the gods of wrath! Thou powerful Ishvara (Shiva), and the entire gost of local gods and tutelary deities! All of you, whom I called hither, with your entire following! I entreat you that you may all disappear now! Trashis shok! Let there be blessing upon us! And virtue! Geo!"

The prayer that is here set down and which I reproduce in an abbreviated form, indicates in what direction and in what forms the praying of the Buddhists moves. The layman, and thus also Namgyal, made use of a much shorter version in which, however, the main ideas constantly keep recurring: purification from the sins of earlier existences, release from the sufferings of this life and translation into nirvana, or at least into the "Joyful Paradise of the West (nub-p'yogs-bde-ba-can) (148)." "Let me be reborn in the Paradise of the West!" That is the

[175]

148. The later Mahayana Buddhism introduced another form of release in contradiction to the doctrine of the extinction of being in the nirvana. This took place in the "Paradise of the West" (Tibetan, nub bde-ba-can; Sanskrit, Sukhavati), in the realm of light of the heavenly Buddha Amithaba (Tibetan Od-dpag-med), where the pious people enjoy a conscious life in unspeakable joys as a recompense for their patient striving for release. However, this was considered merely a stage antecedent to the final release in nirvana.

refrain of all prayers said by the pious Tibetans, lamas as well as laymen. The entreaty for dissolution into nirvana recurs alongside of it,

•175 A small, long-haired Lhasa bitch (a kind of spaniel) was led along by a leash, as well as a donkey, in the retinue of the skushog. The village children wanted to play with the little dog. But a lama earnestly prohibited them from doing so, and threatening them with a stick he chased the children away. Then Namgyal asked a lama why the animals were being brought around in the procession, and why the donkey did not have a burden to carry. The skushog liked the animals, apparently, he suggested, and probably kept them for his pleasure. The lama then reproached him for his impertinent questions. With these he insulted the holy man, he said, and that was a sin. The skushog was not looking for any pleasure at all. He was traveling through the country in order to show the stupid and sinful people, who were all going along the wrong road, onto the way of Buddha, the way of liberation. The skushog's father, he said, had been reborn in the donkey. During his life he had always abused his donkeys very badly, had fed them poorly, had beaten them cruelly, and had always loaded heavy burdens on their backs time and again, despite the fact that their backs were sore. The skushog's mother had once flung a big stone in anger at a dog that had gone into her pantry. In so doing, she had smashed the dog's hip bone so that it had to limp miserably all its life. As a punishment for this the mother was reborn as a bitch, and in this way both his parents had to bear the consequences of their sins in the bodies of animals. For this reason, said the lama, the skushog led both his parents in animal bodies with him through the country as a warning, so that the people would earnestly seek the way to release.

At the next opportunity, Namgyal questioned his father's friend, the hermit, concerning this wondrous matter. The hermit explained to him the significance of the transmigration of souls. He spoke of the law of karma, the mysterious law of cause and /169/ effect (the law of causality). Like a dark power who judges invisible to men's eyes, this law is suspended over the world and living creatures, and it adjudges to the creature in each existence that reward or punishment which it has deserved on the basis of its deeds in earlier existences, so that the fate of each, be it joy or sorrow, is supposed to be always the consequence of that which results when the good deeds have been weighed off against the bad.

The hermit showed his young friend, furthermore, a picture in the shape of a wheel with six spokes (srid-pa k'or-lo, "Wheel of the creatures"); inside each one of the segments of the circle, the picture

incarnation of a great Saint of former ages Cf. cat. nb,
175 -- Analect

of one of the six realms of the creatures had been drawn in together with a great number of figures: the realm of the gods, the realm of the giants who live in constant battle with each other, further the realm of human beings, in which picture the foolish and sinful actions of the human beings and the suffering which is caused by it are drastically represented; further, the realm of the animals, limbo /entrance to hell/, and hell itself where the sinners are subjected to horrible tortures. Inside a small circle in the center of the large circle three animals have been drawn in: a cock, a snake, and a pig; each of the animals is biting the tail of the animal in front. The pig is the image of ignorance, explained the hermit, which ignorance consists in the fact that man in his foolishness takes this world and all the phenomena in it, as well as all the joys and pleasures, for realities, whereas they are, after all, only appearance and deception. His spiritual blindness (Sanskrit moha, Tibetan ti-mug) prevents him from recognizing that everything to which his heart is attached in foolish desire, is only fantasy and bubbles of foam which burst as soon as one grasps for them. This foolish craving for the things of this life is the root of all evil, of all suffering. The creatures yearn to live, they lust after the seeming pleasures of life, their will to live (Sanskrit tangha, "thirst") drags them again and again, to their misfortune, into the cycle of rebirths, into new suffering. This "thirst" for life moreover leads to evil desire (the image of the cock), to sinful coveting, and finally to the sinful deed. It leads further to hatred (the image of the snake), when people with the same sinful desire contest with each other for these apparent pleasures, and when one person opposes the /170/ other in a hostile manner. From these three roots of evil, desire, hatred, and ignorance (stupidity), there springs the evil seed of sin and of suffering, of the endless rebirths of which each brings new suffering again every time, until finally the human being is liberated from this wretched cycle by his own striving after viture and through helping "saviours" and redeemers.

Gautama Buddha showed those people who were seeking for salvation the eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world, of the right belief and the right life, by which, following his example, the pious person is to find liberation through his own forces from the bonds of existence, and illumination (Sanskrit bodhi, Tibetan, byaṅ-ĉub), and with it, nirvana (154); that condition in which all longing, and

154. Many commentators on Gautama Buddha's speeches

775 explain that the "master" himself gave his questioning disciples only very unwillingly and in dark language the information concerning that which he wanted them to understand by nirvana. And that by life he only wanted them to understand the present form of existence; a conscious life in another existential form was nonetheless thinkable even after the entry into nirvana.

with it also all suffering, consequently therefore also life and existence generally, came to an end. For life is, after all, simply synonymous with suffering in the teaching of the ancient Indic sages and also that of Buddha. There is no life without suffering. But to him whose strength and endurance are insufficient to free himself, the "Great Merciful One" (Tibetan, t'ugs-rje ĉen-po, Sankrit Avalokitesvara) proffers out of his mercy his assistance. Hearing the prayers of the people, he saves the suffering creatures from all tortures of existence, even from all the various hells, and translates them into the Paradise of the West.

792 "A pious and virtuous lama can be of great assistance on this way to liberation," said the hermit. "You call me Root Lama (rtsa-baibla-ma), and you are right in doing so. For just as this apricot tree draws up power and sap by the root, so the layman draws his strength from his Root Lama to whom he has attached himself so that he grows spiritually and bears good fruit, leads a pious life, does good deeds by people and by animals, and so that in this way the door to paradise is opened to him. The ignorant and slothful layman who has not the power to effect his salvation by himself, takes refuge with his Root Lama as well as with the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The Root Lama is the indispensable agent of salvation for the layman. A saying in one of our sacred books reads: 'Without the mediation of a lama, no one can approach the godhead.' The lama is the teacher of the layman and shows him onto the path of virtue, he imparts the blessing to the /171/ layman, hears his confession, gives him absolution, imposes penalties upon him, and leads the sinner to the redeeming Bodhisattva who in his mercy purifies him of his sins and who leads him towards release through all the temptations and perils of life. The Bodhisattva does all this from pure mercy, that is why he is called the Great Merciful One."

"It is true that this expression is much abused by the lamas. Unworthy ones presume to be mediators and leaders, and let themselves

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-raṅs sṅa t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guṅ t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed sṅon-du dgoṅs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while
775 the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said. 763 775

## Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features). 775

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) become nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts), 775 789

3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wentz: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

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## Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, 000

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low on the ridge. Now the whole sky was rich in colors—as rich as Arizona could produce. Then in one swift moment it was dark. The Big Dipper showed to the northwest, close to the skyline, with its handle standing almost erect. The cold south wind —the prevailing daytime wind in Ladakh—had been whining down the Tsarap River from Baralacha Pass. Now it began to die down. In a few hours the prevailing nighttime wind—the chill wind from the north or northeast—would pick up. The white sheep across the canyon had bedded down. A tiny light high in a ravine marked the camp of their shepherd. Rup Singh and the muleteers were still huddled together in the nulla.

Rahul and I sat mostly in silence. Only once did we talk, and then it was about Rup Singh. We agreed to wait him out if it took all night. We speculated on Rup Singh's background and character. Rahul said, "I am a Buddhist, and Buddhists believe in transmigration of souls. We never speak of a man's dying; his soul merely leaves his body and goes to some other body. The important thing is not only what a man is but what he was before his present self. Is he better or worse? Is he going up or down the ladder?"

"What do you reckon Rup Singh was before he was Rup Singh?" I asked.

"R. S.," Rahul said as if talking to himself. "R. S. are his initials. Let's see what they might stand for."

"I have it," I shouted. "R. S. means the Reincarnated Satan." We both roared. And as we roared here came Rup Singh and his assistants and the mule train. He was beaming all over, as pleasant and gracious as the day we first met him at Kyelang.

"Speaking of the devil," I said teasingly. And before I could finish Rup Singh asked, "Is it all right if we camp with you? Then we can get a real early start tomorrow."

"To Patseo or to Leh?" I asked.

"To Leh, of course," he answered, a bit surprised that I need question it.

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today been mixed in a religion which Buddha himself would hardly recognize.

Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama), whose home was in Nepal, lived from about 560 B.C. to about 480 B.C. He designed a beautiful religion, a religion more intellectual than emotional, one that made wisdom its main faith and righteous conduct its code. Buddha taught the "Noble Eightfold Path": (1) right views; (2) right aspirations; (3) right speech; (4) right conduct; (5) right livelihood; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right rapture. This philosophy demanded (1) freedom from superstition; (2) noble thoughts worthy of the intelligent man; (3) speech that is truthful and generous; (4) conduct that is honest and peaceful; (5) actions that bring no injury to any living thing; (6) self-control that subjects the passions to control by the mind; (7) a mental attitude of active watchfulness; (8) deep meditation on the principles of life.

Buddha's tenets were based on the notion that the cause of all suffering is desire and that desire results from ignorance. Buddha believed in life after death, or rebirth. The Hindu belief in rebirth preceded Buddha in India. Man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and moves on to take possession of another body. One can, by his acts and mental attitudes, become reborn into a higher and nobler form; or he can debase himself and return to earth in a lowlier condition. He can, unaided, effect his own deliverance and gradually, in successive reappearances on this earth, attain the status of an Arhat or perfected man. This, briefly, is the doctrine of reincarnation. Every event is the result of prior causes and itself the cause of future events. What is done in this life shapes what happens in the next. One who lives a life of good works and good thoughts will move in the next life one step closer to Nirvana. But one who violates the teachings of the "Noble Eightfold Path" will in the next life move down the ladder; then he will have to start over and regain the ground he has lost in his struggle toward perfection.

779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
• 775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-



1 [See Source NO.4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1- ANALYST]

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pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery.

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensitive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

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792 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the
159 soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to
787 enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes
•775 to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

764 I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed
346 on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not cus-
[775] tomary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten.* But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten,* they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens.* They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens,* and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile. Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By selecting the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beautifully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the *Saturday Evening Post* for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They consulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies frequently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man.

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to understand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs.

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley Beer--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



brothers and sisters, the bliss of deliverance which comes through the atrophy of personality. His views are well summed up in the four noble truths which he is said to have taught. 774

(1) Life is suffering.
(2) Life is the result of desire.
(3) Cessation of desire ends the life of suffering.
(4) Cessation of desire is attained by following the eightfold path.

What is the eightfold path? It consists of right belief; right aspirations; right speech; right actions; right livelihood; right effort; right mindfulness, and right contemplation. By what means can the Buddhist walk along these paths? By carrying out the Buddha's five commandments :—

(1) Do not kill.
(2) Do not steal.
(3) Do not commit adultery.
(4) Do not speak untruth.
(5) Do not taste intoxicating drinks.

This in a nutshell was Buddha's teaching, and, by the keeping of this law, he promised mankind that they would attain Nirvana, which is a state of unconscious bliss, when a personal existence is over and done with, and the liberated soul is at one and in harmony with the all-pervading. To attain this state, which the Ladaki calls "*Stongpa nid*," meaning "empty spirit," the soul has to work its way by re-incarnation through various existences of which there are six, until the balance of good actions over bad is so immense that the soul finds emancipation. Therefore every Buddhist takes such infinite pains to increase the credit side with good actions in order to obtain merit. Although all adherents of this religion do not admit it, yet most authorities agree that Gautama taught that no outside aid availed. Each man must work out his own salvation with fear and trembling. [775] ●

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773 slung a stone at him, but missed, for the horse had got behind a rock. The steed then said to his master, " Oh thou with the big head without brains, thou donkey without long ears, thou ox without horns, look at my sore back ! How can I carry you ? But quickly take the lancet placed by my good queen Bruguma in my left ear, and cut out my sores, then wash them with the lotion in my right ear, and I will get well immediately and bear you back to Ling." No sooner said than done, and they returned. Kesar re-conquered the country, liberated his Queen and her sons, and they lived happily ever after.

643 Thus runs the story, and to-day we have in Ladak two
● 775 representatives of this hero King, for Kesar is re-incarnated in both father and son, Kings of Ladak. The question may be asked how the young King can be a re-incarnation of King Kesar during the lifetime of his father who is also a re-incarnation of the same ? This is perfectly easy to explain, for Kesar appeared in many disguises, and they are incarnations of two of these. In like manner, the Queen Mother and the reigning Queen, both living, are each a re-incarnation of one goddess, the White Tara. In the case of the two Kings we have definite proof of this fact, for they have both of them a squint, although the son has only acquired his after years of
643 practice. It would seem strange in most countries for the son to be reigning while his father is still alive, but, in this back-to-front country, the heir-apparent, on reaching manhood, has for long been made co-ruler with his father. At the present time they have gone a step further, for the Father King has retired to a hermitage, where he tells his beads, says his *Ommanis*, and prepares himself for his next incarnation. The coronation of the present King took place soon after we arrived in Leh, and all the missionaries and their children were invited to be present at the ceremony. So on the morning of the coronation day we were requested to send up the chairs on which we were to sit. The Tibetan word for a chair, by the way, is *Khriushing*, which means a wooden

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the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his *chos*, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor importance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* reincarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a *Skushog*, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

# CHAPTER XXII

## Skushogs & Scandals

AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used by Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a man is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

"My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

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The Yutog minister is the governor of twelve provinces and lives in the Kensdongrdzong.

"I was born when my father was in the employ of the Yutogpa. My birthday is in the fifteenth Rabjhung, in the year of the Sheep. According to the English calendar, this would be the year 1883 A.D. When I was eight years old, that is in the end of the year of the Iron Tiger, the steward of the Hemis monastery, whose name was Ngagwang Chos Zang, and the Kashmir State sent to Llasa for me, where I was staying at Dechen Choskor, which means the Holy Wheel. That I was their *Skushog* was conclusively proved to the envoys, for when they asked the Yongdzin Incarnation to tell them where they could find their new incarnation, he told them my house-name, my father's name and the name of my birth-year quite distinctly and correctly, although it was impossible for him to have known anything about me. Having arrived at Lhaldang, they acquainted me with this prophecy. This was in the ninth year of the Iron Rabbit. After doing obeisance to the Dalai Lama with the *Lobchag* [this is the merchant who is sent from Ladak every two years by the Kashmir State to salute the Dalai Lama and to hand him a present of Rs.9,000]. I offered my first hair to the Yongdzin, who was my Arch-*Skushog* at Dechen Choskor, and was then decorated with the crown-name Ngag Wang Jhamspel Gelegs Rgyaltsan Lhundrup Chogslas Rnampar Rgyalwai Lde, after which I started on my journey; at Shigatse I went to meet Panchen Ertini (the Trashi Lama, who is next in rank to the Dalai Lama), and after this arrived safely and happily at my destination in Hemis. The next year my enthronement as the successor of former *Skushogs* took place, after which I returned to Lhasa, going on to Sangsngag where the Arch-*Skushog* lives, and where I met the head of the Red Sect Lamas, the Drugpa Rinpoche and the Yongdzin Rinpoche, and where I learnt the

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792 159 791

learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

797

Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajah-ship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

● [775]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



792 588 in the usual profligacy, which still must be legitimate for one who is a law-giver, and who can do no sin. This lady, who is addressed by the honorific title of *Bûm*, often accompanies him on his visits to Leh; she is very resplendent with magnificent *perag* and jewels, but quite friendly, and when she visited us was most interested in our children and their toys and dolls, especially one of the latter with eyelashes!

● 775 792 The *Skushog* is generally known as the "Sras" or Son *Skushog*, for he is one of a pair of incarnations, the "Yab," or Father *Skushog*, being the priest-king, we have already met on our tour to Zankskar. In the present re-birth the son happens to be older than the father, but that is a mere detail in this system of re-incarnation, where the physical body is of such minor importance.

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [95] [113]

778

## Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

771 773 son of the king of heaven, was worshiped on earth as the bringer of spring. From him and from his wife aBru-gu-ma people expected the blessing of a harvest and of offspring. With respect to the life after death they had entirely animistic conceptions.

113 773 775 In the saga of "Kesar's Beloved Mon" (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II. p. 467) we read that this Mon had been killed by being pushed off a cliff. When Kesar approached the corpse, he heard a voice speaking from it. He opened the dead body with his knife and out of it came two Mon devils, one male and one female. These devils Kesar carried home, wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po we read the following (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III. p. 321): the Agu mDa-dpon-gon-ma had been killed and had been entombed in a stupa. But people were very much worried that he might still be full of thoughts of revenge. For this reason an old hermit advised them to walk respectfully around the stupa of the dead Agu until a lizard came out of it and nodded its head. All this is fulfilled, and the dead man, moreover, is kind enough to give his son, who is praying to him, a piece of advice. This advice concerns an arrow which would be of particularly great use to him in battle.

In the saga dealing with Kesar's victory over the devil (or giant) Khya-ba (Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-rins (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1164, p. 278) it is stated that the enraged Bam-za-abum-skyid went to the grave of this giant, her former husband, and that she roared into the grave. As an answer to her roar there was an earthquake. (The giant moved in his grave.) Thereupon Kesar rushed to the giant's grave and chanted magical formulas into the grave until it became impossible for its occupant to leave it.

From all this we can see that, though it was impossible for the ancient Tibetans to conceive of death /32/ as a complete annihilation of life, nevertheless, after what has been stated above, there can be no question of a conception of an idealized form of existence that will take place after death.

Such a delightful, disembodied life is led on the Olympus of the Tibetans, the mountain peaks of the Gans-ri (Kailasa). In the account that I wrote of my journey from upper Sutlej to the upper Indus, in 1909 (see Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) there is the following passage with respect to the Pu-rgyal mountain peak: "The baggage carriers of Chan pointed to those mountain peaks and said 773 775 that up there was the magical country (aBa-yul), the dwelling place of the spirits. The inhabitants of this place are supposed to be very

numerous. However, ordinary persons cannot see or hear anything of them. Only noble people or lamas are capable of observing anything of the life and the activities in aBa-yul. When such a pious man approaches the region of the perpetual snows he often hears the voices of the invisible inhabitants of the magic land and the barking of their dogs." These are the ideas of the present-day Tibetans concerning their Olympus. It is possible, of course, to think of its invisible inhabitants as the gods (lha). These are its original inhabitants. But in the course of time the souls of good, pure people seem to have been added to its population. In any case, the later systematized Bon religion points to such a population of "Olympus." Until these ideas received their full expression, it is possible that ideas among the people arose which postulated a life in the Beyond among the gods for the noblest of their priests and heroes. In this fashion the icy regions of the Himalayas became the universal paradise.

## The Tag-ma-cig Wedding Songs

This collection of sixty songs falls into three parts. The first part contains nineteen songs which are to be sung outside the door by the purchasers of the bride (sGo-la-btan-ces-kyi-glu). The second part is called Tho-rabs. It deals with the journey of the bride purchasers from the gate to the place where the festivities are held. With each question that they answer correctly, the bride purchasers overcome one obstacle and thus come one step closer to the festive place. It is to be noted that this Tho-rabs is not known in Khalatse, whereas the first and the third part of the songs is known in Khalatse. The third part is sung on the festive place during the banquet. It is called chan-glu, beer song. In the following, the first nineteen songs are to be published first, and in the versification of the originals, into which the translations that I did purely according to the sense have been transferred with great skill by Mrs. Anna Paalzow.

### I

### Songs Sung in Front of the Bride's House

Ia. The people of the house say:

1. The ice god closed the valleys three
   High above where the glacier lioness lives.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul



There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name).

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax.

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born.

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

## B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

### 1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
Bhutan AK2
W. Tibetan AJ4



Each of these Grand Lāmas has a separate biography (or *nam-t'ar*). The first, who was a contemporary of the Grand Lāma Sonam Gya-tshô, seems to have been married; the rest are celibate. A celebrated Lāma of this Dug-pa sect was named Mi-pam ch'os-Kyi gyal-po.

The Dharma Rāja resides, at least in summer, at the fort of Ta-shi-ch'o. The palace is a large stone building, with the chief house seven storeys high, described and figured by Turner and others. Here live over five hundred monks.

Bogle describes the Lāma of his day as "a thin, sickly-looking man of about thirty-five years of age."[1]

He exercises, I am informed, some jurisdiction over Lāmas in Nepal, where his authority is officially recognized by the Gorkha government.

The number of the lesser spiritual chiefs held to be re-embodied Lāma saints is stated[2] to be one hundred and sixty, of which thirty are in Tibet (twelve being "Shaburuń"), nineteen in north Mongolia, fifty-seven in south Mongolia, thirty-five in Kokonor, five in Chiamdo and the Tibetan portion of Sze-ch'wan, and fourteen at Pekin. But this much under-estimates the number in Tibet.

Amongst the re-embodied Lāmas in western Tibet or Tsang are Sen-c'en-Rin-po-ch'e,[3] Yańzin Lho-pa, Billuń, Lô-ch'en, Kyi-zar, Tiňki, De-ch'an Alig, Kańla, Koń (at Phagri). In Kham, Tu, Ch'amdo, Derge, etc.

The Lāmaist metropolitan at Pekin is called by the Tibetans "lC'aň-skya," and is considered an incarnation of Rol-pahī Dorje. His portrait is given in the annexed figure. He dates his spiritual descent from a dignitary who was called to Pekin during the reign

[1] MARKH., p. 27.

[2] In the Sheng Wu Ki, and registered by the Colonial Board at Pekin. (MAYER) *J.R.A.S.*, vi., p. 307.

[3] The last re-incarnate Lāma bearing this title, and the tutor of the Tashi Grand Lāma, was beheaded about 1886 for harbouring surreptitiously Sarat C. Das, who is regarded as an English spy; and although the bodies of his predecessors were considered divine and are preserved in golden domes at Tashi-lhunpo, his headless trunk was thrown ignominiously into a river to the S.W. of Lhāsa, near the fort where he had been imprisoned. On account of his violent death, and under such circumstances, this re-incarnation is said to have ceased. From the glimpse got of him in Sarat's narrative and in his great popularity, he seems to have been a most amiable man.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 All Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4
SIKKIM AK3



of K'ang Hi, probably about 1690-1700 A.D., and entrusted with the emperor's confidence as his religious vicegerent for inner Mongolia.[1]

In Ladāk only four monasteries have resident re-incarnate Lāmas or *Ku-s'o*. Although they are of the red sect, these head Lāmas are said to be educated at Lhāsa. The present (1893) re-incarnate Lāma of Spitak, the seventeenth of the series, is thus described by Captain Ramsay.[2] "A youth, 26 years of age, who lately returned from Lhāsa, where he had been for 14 years. He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden-coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved, and one arm was bare. On entering the room he bowed, and then presented the customary 'scarf of salutation,' which I accepted. He impressed me very favourably; his manner and general appearance was superior to anything I had seen among other Lāmas or people of Ladāk."

HEAD LĀMA OF PEKIN.[3]

In Sikhim, where few Lāmas are celibate and where the La-brang Lāma is the nominal head of the fraternity with the title of "Lord protector" (*s*Kyab *m*Gon), the fiction of re-incarnation was only practised in regard to the Pemiongchi and La-brang

[1] *Z.R.* 21, PAND., No. 53. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 69. [3] After Grünwedel.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A71
W. Tibetans AJ4



193 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

193 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AV4

# A Trip to Ladakh

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
●[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
535